

a bulwark against the shifting threats to our nation and world across the span of two entire centuries.

The yard was there when the British were our enemy. This yard was there during the darkest hours of World War Two. The yard was there when the Soviet threat in the heart of Europe fueled the cold war. And it has more recently borne witness to both the fall of the Berlin Wall and the end of the Soviet empire.

Today, the Portsmouth Naval Shipyard remains as critical today as it was 205 years ago.

Ralph Waldo Emerson once wrote, "For what avail the plough or sail, or land or life if freedom fail?"

This shipyard, this monument to American ingenuity, this testament to the American worker has for 205 years helped ensure that freedom will not fail. May this crown jewel of the Navy continue to exemplify Maine's motto, "Dirigo"—"I Lead".

IRAQ

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, President Bush's address to the Nation Tuesday night on the war in Iraq was more of the same we have been hearing for so long.

We all agree that our men and women in uniform are serving with great skill, dedication, and courage under enormously difficult circumstances in Iraq. The policy of our Government must be worthy of their sacrifice, but unfortunately, it is not, and the American people know it.

The President chose to wrap himself in the tragedy of September 11. He spoke explicitly of the tragedy five times, and he invoked the danger of Osama bin Laden twice. He spoke about terrorists 26 times, and he spoke of terror an additional 9 times, but the American people know that the war in Iraq had nothing to do with September 11.

Even after 9/11, it is wrong for this President or any President to shoot first and ask questions later, to rush to war and ignore serious doubts by experienced military officers and experienced officials in the State Department and the CIA about the justification for the war and the strategy for waging it.

We all know that Saddam Hussein was a brutal dictator. We have known it for more than 20 years. We are proud, very proud, of our troops for their extraordinary and swift success in removing Saddam from power.

But as we also now know beyond doubt, Saddam did not pose the kind of immediate threat to our national security that could possibly justify a unilateral, preventive war without the broad support of the international community. There was no reason whatever to go to war when we did, in the way we did, and for the false reasons we were given.

The administration's insistence that Saddam could provide nuclear material, or even nuclear weapons, to al-

qaida has been exposed as an empty threat. It should have never been used by President Bush to justify an ideological war that America never should have fought.

Saddam had no nuclear weapons. In fact, not only were there no nuclear weapons, there were no chemical or biological weapons either, no weapons of mass destruction of any kind.

Nor was there any persuasive link between al-qaida and Saddam and the 9/11 attacks. A 9/11 Commission Staff Statement put it plainly:

Two senior bin Laden associates have adamantly denied that any ties existed between al-qaida and Iraq. We have no credible evidence that Iraq and al-qaida cooperated on attacks against the United States.

The 9/11 Commission Report stated clearly that there was no "operational" connection between Saddam and al-qaida.

Nonetheless, President Bush continues to cling to the fiction that there was a relationship between Saddam and al-qaida.

That is the same logic President Bush keeps using today in his repeated stubborn insistence that we are making progress in Iraq, and that we and the world are safer because Saddam is gone.

In fact, the war with Iraq has made us less safe. It has created a breeding ground for terrorists that did not previously exist. It has created a powerful recruitment tool for al-qaida, and made it harder—much harder—to win the real war on terrorism—the war against al-qaida.

Our soldiers in Iraq need more than assurances of progress from the President. They need more than a public relations campaign. They need an effective plan to end the violence, bring peace and stability to Iraq, and return home with dignity and honor.

The President did not level with our troops and the American people and offer an effective strategy for success.

The President spoke about the importance of training the Iraqi security forces, but failed to outline a clear strategy to accelerate their training and improve their capability.

The training of the Iraqi security forces continues to falter. The administration still has not given the American people a straight answer about how many Iraqi security forces are adequately trained and equipped. In the words of the Government Accountability Office:

U.S. government agencies do not report reliable data on the extent to which Iraqi security forces are trained and equipped.

The President spoke about the importance of our reconstruction effort, but he failed to outline a clear strategy to create jobs and hope for the Iraqi people, and neutralize the temptation to join the insurgents. As of June 15, the administration only spent \$6 billion—one-third—of the \$18 billion Congress provided last summer for reconstruction. Of the money we do spend, it is far from clear how much is actually

creating jobs and improving the quality of life. We need greater focus on small projects to create jobs for Iraqis, not huge grants to multinational corporations that create profits for corporate executives instead of stability for the Iraqi people.

The President spoke about the importance of the international community in Iraq, but he failed to suggest a clear strategy to bring in additional foreign troops to help us get the job done in Iraq.

If NATO is willing to send additional troops to help secure Iraq's borders, the President should ask them to do so. He did not.

If the United Nations is willing to send a force to help secure Iraq's borders, the President should ask the U.N. to do so. He did not.

Nor did the President offer any strategy to prevent further reductions in the forces of the international coalition. A year ago, we had 34 coalition partners in Iraq. Nine of those partners have pulled out. Today, we have just 25. American forces still make up nearly 85 percent of the troops fighting in Iraq. By the end of the year, five more countries among the largest contributors of troops are scheduled to pull out. The President said nothing about how he intends to prevent more troops in the coalition from pulling out.

The President spoke about the hard work of our troops, he urged Americans to send them letters and raise flags in their honor, but he did not assure them that they will have the equipment they need to fight the war.

More than 400 of our troops in Iraq have died in military vehicles hit by roadside bombs, grenades, and other so-called improvised explosive devices. Yet troops don't have the protective equipment they need. The Marines are still waiting for the 495 armored humvees they ordered last year.

The American people rightly believe we are bogged down in Iraq and that the President has no realistic strategy for success. A quagmire by any other name is still a quagmire. The dictionary defines a quagmire as "a complex or precarious position where disengagement is difficult." That is precisely what we have in Iraq—not because of the hard work and dedication of our military, but because of the persistent mistakes made by the President and his national security team.

No one has been more responsible for those mistakes than Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld. He has been consistently wrong about Iraq.

He was wrong about weapons of mass destruction.

He was wrong about the number of troops we would need in Iraq.

He was wrong to keep calling the insurgents deadenders.

He was wrong to send our service men and women into battle month after month without proper armor.

He was wrong to exaggerate our success in training Iraqi security forces.

A single word spoke volumes at the Senate Armed Services Committee

hearing on Iraq on June 23. Secretary Rumsfeld's prepared testimony contained these words:

In every war, there are individuals who commit wrongdoing. And there are mistakes, setbacks, and hardships.

He repeated those words to the committee with a notable exception. He left out the word "mistake."

Accepting the resignation of Donald Rumsfeld is the most important first step the President can take toward a new and more successful policy in Iraq.

Reality is difficult to swallow. Facts, as John Adams once said, are stubborn things. President Bush should face the facts and accept them.

I say this with deep sorrow and regret for our service men and women, their families, and friends. They deserve better and they deserve it now.

BUDGET SCOREKEEPING REPORT

Mr. GREGG. Mr. President, I hereby submit to the Senate the budget scorekeeping report prepared by the Congressional Budget Office under Section 308(b) and in aid of Section 311 of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974, as amended. This report meets the requirements for Senate scorekeeping of Section 5 of S. Con. Res. 32, the First Concurrent Resolution on the Budget for 1986.

This report shows the effects of congressional action on the 2005 budget through June 28, 2005. The estimates of budget authority, outlays, and revenues are consistent with the technical and economic assumptions of the 2006 Concurrent Resolution on the Budget, H. Con. Res. 95.

The estimates show that current level spending is under the budget resolution by \$5.062 billion in budget authority and by \$72 million in outlays in 2005. Current level for revenues is \$407 million above the budget resolution in 2005.

Since my last report dated May 26, 2005, the Congress has cleared and the President has signed the Surface Transportation Extension Act of 2005 (P.L. 109-14), which changed budget authority. In addition, the Congress has cleared for the President's signature S. 714, the Junk Fax Prevention Act of 2005, which had a negligible effect on revenues.

I ask unanimous consent the report and accompanying letter be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

U.S. CONGRESS,
CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET OFFICE,
Washington, DC, June 29, 2005.

Hon. JUDD GREGG,
Chairman, Committee on the Budget, U.S. Senate,
Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: The enclosed tables show the effects of Congressional action on the 2005 budget and are current through June 28, 2005. This report is submitted under section 308(b) and in aid of section 311 of the Congressional Budget Act, as amended.

The estimates of budget authority, outlays, and revenues are consistent with the

technical and economic assumptions for fiscal year 2005 that underlie H. Con. Res. 95, the Concurrent Resolution on the Budget for Fiscal Year 2006.

Since my last letter, dated May 26, 2005, the Congress has cleared and the President has signed the Surface Transportation Extension Act of 2005 (P.L. 109-14), which changed budget authority. In addition, the Congress cleared for the President's signature S. 714, the Junk Fax Prevention Act of 2005.

Sincerely,
ELIZABETH ROBINSON
(For Douglas Holtz-Eakin, Director).

TABLE 1.—SENATE CURRENT-LEVEL REPORT FOR SPENDING AND REVENUES FOR FISCAL YEAR 2005, AS OF JUNE 28, 2005

(In billions of dollars)

	Budget Resolution ¹	Current Level ²	Current level over/under (–) resolution
ON-BUDGET			
Budget Authority	1,996.6	1,991.5	– 5.1
Outlays	2,023.9	2,023.8	– 0.1
Revenues	1,483.7	1,484.1	0.4
OFF-BUDGET			
Social Security Outlays	398.1	398.1	0
Social Security Revenues	573.5	573.5	0

¹ H. Con. Res. 95, the Concurrent Resolution on the Budget for Fiscal Year 2006, assumed the enactment of emergency supplemental appropriations for fiscal year 2005, in the amount of \$81,811 million in budget authority and \$32,121 million in outlays, which would be exempt from the enforcement of the budget resolution. Since current level excludes the emergency appropriations in P.L. 109-13 (see footnote 2 of Table 2), the amounts specified in the budget resolution have also been reduced for purposes of comparison.

² Current level is the estimated effect on revenue and spending of all legislation that the Congress has enacted or sent to the President for his approval. In addition, full-year funding estimates under current law are included for entitlement and mandatory programs requiring annual appropriations even if the appropriations have not been made.

Source: Congressional Budget Office.

TABLE 2.—SUPPORTING DETAIL FOR THE SENATE CURRENT-LEVEL REPORT FOR ON-BUDGET SPENDING AND REVENUES FOR FISCAL YEAR 2005, AS OF JUNE 28, 2005

(In millions of dollars)

	Budget authority	Outlays	Revenues
Enacted in Previous Sessions: ¹			
Revenues	n.a.	n.a.	1,484,024
Permanents and other spending legislation	1,109,476	1,070,500	n.a.
Appropriation legislation	1,298,963	1,369,221	n.a.
Offsetting receipts	– 415,912	– 415,912	n.a.
Total, enacted in previous sessions:	1,992,527	2,023,809	1,484,024
Enacted This Session:			
Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act for Defense, the Global War on Terror, and Tsunami Relief, 2005 (P.L. 109-13) ²	– 1,058	4	41
Surface Transportation Extension Act of 2005 (P.L. 109-14)	44	0	0
Total, enacted this session: ...	– 1,014	4	41
Passed Pending Signature:			
Junk Fax Prevention Act of 2005 (S. 714)	0	0	*
Total Current Level ^{2,3}	1,991,513	2,023,813	1,484,065
Total Budget Resolution	2,078,456	2,056,006	1,483,658
Adjustment to budget resolution for emergency requirements ⁴	– 81,881	– 32,121	n.a.

TABLE 2.—SUPPORTING DETAIL FOR THE SENATE CURRENT-LEVEL REPORT FOR ON-BUDGET SPENDING AND REVENUES FOR FISCAL YEAR 2005, AS OF JUNE 28, 2005—Continued

(In millions of dollars)

	Budget authority	Outlays	Revenues
Adjusted Budget Resolution	1,996,575	2,023,885	1,483,658
Current Level Over Adjusted Budget Resolution	n.a.	n.a.	407
Current Level Under Adjusted Budget Resolution	5,062	72	n.a.

¹ The effects of an act to provide for the proper tax treatment of certain disaster mitigation payments (P.L. 109-7) and the Bankruptcy Abuse Prevention and Consumer Protection Act of 2005 (P.L. 109-8) are included in this section of the table, consistent with the budget resolution assumptions.

² Pursuant to section 402 of H. Con. Res. 95, the Concurrent Resolution on the Budget for Fiscal Year 2006, provisions designated as emergency requirements are exempt from enforcement of the budget resolution. As a result, the current level excludes \$83,140 million in budget authority and \$33,034 million in outlays from the Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act for Defense, the Global War on Terror, and Tsunami Relief, 2005 (P.L. 109-13).

³ Excludes administrative expenses of the Social Security Administration, which are off-budget.

⁴ H. Con. Res. 95, the Concurrent Resolution on the Budget for Fiscal Year 2006, assumed the enactment of emergency supplemental appropriations for fiscal year 2005, in the amount of \$81,811 million in budget authority and \$32,121 million in outlays, which would be exempt from the enforcement of the budget resolution. Since current level excludes the emergency appropriations in P.L. 109-13 (see footnote 2), the amounts specified in the budget resolution have also been reduced for purposes of comparison.

Source: Congressional Budget Office.
Notes.—n.a. = not applicable; P.L. = Public Law; * = less than \$500,000.

FIFTY CALIBER SNIPER RIFLES AND TERRORISTS

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, the .50 caliber sniper rifle is employed by militaries around the world because of its powerful and destructive capabilities. Fifty caliber sniper rifles in the hands of terrorists pose a significant threat to our homeland security. Unfortunately we have not done enough to help keep terrorists from acquiring these dangerous weapons.

Published reports indicate that .50 caliber sniper rifles are capable of accurately hitting a target more than 1,500-yards away with a bullet measuring a half-inch in diameter. In addition, these thumb-size bullets come in armor-piercing, incendiary, and explosive varieties that can easily punch through aircraft fuselages, fuel tanks, and engines.

One leading manufacturer of the .50 caliber sniper rifle, Barrett Firearms, posts a variety of news and magazine articles to promote the capabilities of its product on its website. One such article, titled "Practical to Tactical" originally appeared in the April 2004 issue of American Rifleman, a publication of the National Rifle Association. The article details how Ronnie Barrett, founder of Barrett Firearms, originally designed his .50 caliber rifle to be a "long-range target gun" but was later able to sell it to the U.S. military for use during the first Iraq war to "destroy hard targets, such as radar sites, bunkers, and light armored vehicles." The U.S. military has also used the Barrett .50 caliber sniper rifle during the current war in Iraq. According to the article, a U.S. Army report regarding operations in Iraq said: "The Barrett .50-cal Sniper Rifle may have been the most useful piece of equipment in